1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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361 311 538 Tĕnganan:[8] The village came to be called Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan because of the skill of the village women in making *gĕringsing* fabrics. The village boundaries are described in detail in the *desa* constitution.

621 133 The topography is extremely rough. The footpaths are very hard to traverse especially in the rainy season, and several expeditions through the *desa* territory and to other villages in the neighbourhood helped me understand why the region of Karangasĕm was earlier described by the military patrols as *kurang asĕm*, 'short of breath'. Running through the western part of the village territory from north to south is the Pandĕk River, and in the eastern part the Buhu River streams through a fine complex of *sawahs*. There are two other settlements in the *desa* territory. Kĕstala, Wra Kĕstala, or Ora Kĕstala in the north is a hamlet of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan founded owing to special circumstances. Gumung, a few miles to the north of Tĕnganan, is a daughter *desa* of the village of Bungaya. Both settlements have their own territory, the first as a *banjar*, and the second as a *desa*.

621 [162] In 1926 the total population of the village proper of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan was 603, of which 415 could be considered as full-fledged citizens. The others were either people born elsewhere or people who had transgressed village customs in one way or another. Anyone used to the sturdy figure of Balinese farmers is struck by the none-too-healthy appearance of these valley inhabitants. This is probably to be attributed in part to the fact that the closed-in location of the village leads to a sultry temperature during the day. On the other hand the village has the advantage of significantly longer cool periods, since the sun rises later over the eastern hills and disappears earlier behind those to the west than is the case in the open plains, and moreover the absence of stagnant water, even in the remotest corners of the village, has [164] the result that there are very few mosquitoes, and so no malaria. Other possible causes for the less vigorous appearance of the people are the idle way of life of the actual core of the population and the high degree of inbreeding. The members of the village

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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are forbidden to work in the *sawahs*,[9] though they obtain a large share of the yield from the abundant, excellent farmland. The *desa* members receive their crop share from their *pěnyakaps*, people of Kěstala, Gumung, and neighbouring *desas*. The inbreeding is the result of the nearly total endogamy and the preference to marry within one's own class and family.

Reference should also be made to abuses in the sexual field. The first impression in this regard is one of extreme strictness and soberness. But prolonged engagements plus the custom of allowing young men to hold an erotic feast with women from outside the *desa* once a year have contributed no small amount to the spread of venereal diseases. I was informed in strict confidence of several serious cases of neglected syphilis, and there was great diffidence when I referred them to the government physician at Karangasěm. (A survey made in 1929 showed that at that time there was not much venereal disease.)

As far as I could trace, the population is tending to decrease.[10] This seems to me all the more regrettable because the Těnganananese have a definite understanding of hygiene (though one would not think it on viewing the accumulation of rubbish in various places). There are bathing places on every side of the village, some of them hewn with great care in the banks of the Pandĕk River.

Persons suffering from certain contagious diseases are banished from the village to the so-called *alas těben*, the low-lying woods on the border with Pasĕdahan, where they are left almost entirely to their fate. On asking what such people should live from I was answered that they could eat whatever they wanted to if they looked after it themselves, but a visit to the spot proved to me that nothing would grow there. The result is that the isolated persons disappear after a time and are never heard of again: a cheap method of caring for the ill. Among the persons isolated in this way are not only lepers (who, in fact, are nowadays well cared for in the leper colony at Bugbug), but also persons suffering from skin diseases, for instance *abong*, a sort of scabies, and similar afflictions that are probably not even contagious. In Tĕnganan as elsewhere on Bali, the care for such sick persons is entrusted to,

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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are also wicked ones who use magic to do physical harm to a client's enemy. For this purpose they are said to employ the universal system of sympathetic magic by which through the possession of something that belonged to or formed part of the victim – clothes, locks of hair, nail-cuttings, saliva, and even the soil taken from a footprint – they can gain control of the physical and mental condition of the person. Through sympathy between the victim and something of his – his image, a photograph or a doll containing any of the above ingredients – his soul is captured and tortured because he feels the harm done to his image. Consequently the Balinese carefully collect and bury all nail-cuttings, hair, tooth-filings, and so forth.

Just as the Balinese believe that foreigners are immune from the attacks of witches simply because they are of a race apart, so they believe that European medicines and the knowledge of white doctors, pills, liquids in bottles, and bitter or smelly powders, can be effective only to cure the people who invented them. Furthermore, the lack of showmanship of doctors, of dramatic hocus-pocus with which to paralyse the evil forces which they believe cause illness, leave them without faith in their curative ability. Many refuse absolutely to be cured by Europeans, others accept treatment out of politeness, and the few that go to the hospitals do so only after everything else has failed them. It is natural that medical treatment fails then to cure an advanced stage of illness.

In case of serious sickness a folded leaf of pandanus is hung on the gate as a sign of taboo (*sawén*) to inform the village. Then only relatives may enter the house and may only approach the sick person after stamping their feet on the kitchen floor to shake off whatever evil influences may still cling to them. A *balian* is called, and if his magic succeeds in effecting a cure, the patient gives many offerings and has to undergo purifying ceremonies to lose the *sebel*.

The Balinese attach great significance to any sort of physical sickness and, having no great hardships to discuss, to complain

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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of illness, no matter how slight, is a favourite subject of conversation. Colds, cough, stomach-ache, neuralgia, and other minor ailments make them miserable, although they can cure them effectively with domestic concoctions of herbs, roots, barks, flowers, and especially by massage, which they have developed into a real science. However, despite the appearance of being an unusually healthy race, the Balinese are victims of many serious afflictions for which they know no cure.

Worst among these are the widespread venereal diseases; syphilis and gonorrhœa seem to prevail although in an inherited, latent state. Supposedly of ancient introduction, the diseases do not appear in malignant forms and the Balinese seem to have developed a certain immunity that makes them carriers despite a healthy appearance. It is common to see the whitish veil of gonorrhœa in the eyes of elderly people and often a boy or a girl of our *bandjar* broke out in sores of an unmistakable origin and had to be sent to the hospital for inoculations. But the reluctance of the Balinese to undertake foreign treatment, the forbidding cost of Salvarsan, and the natural promiscuity do not help the situation.

The violent rainy seasons bring epidemics of tropical fevers, and malaria takes many lives, especially of children. The Balinese attempt to cure the fevers with concoctions of *dadap* leaves, onions, anise, salt, and coal from the hearth, which, after straining, is given to the patient to drink, and he is put to sleep. It is also effective to rub the sides with a paste of mashed *dadap* leaves, onions, anise, and *tinké*, a sort of nutmeg, and to rub the back with coconut oil with scrapings of *dadap* bark; but quinine is rapidly gaining popularity. The Balinese love a clear skin and they are disturbed by the prevalent skin diseases, from the ugly but harmless *kurab*, a skin discolouration produced by a parasitic fungus, to itches, framboesia, and tenacious tropical ulcers. The *kurab* (called *bulenan* when in small patches) appears as whitish spots on the brown skin and spreads all over if not checked. It is cured by rubbing the affected areas with *lalang*

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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grass, but it has been discovered that it disappears quickly with salycilic alcohol from the Chinese druggists. Itches are cured with lemon juice, coconut oil, and frequent baths in hot water in which *legundí* and *ketawalí* leaves are macerated.

People after middle age complain of " bone trouble," rheumatism, due to the extreme humidity of the island, and as a preventive they wear bracelets of *kayú ulí*, a sort of black coral from Borneo. It is said that the pain can be driven out by marking the feet with a hot iron, which does not hurt the patient because " the teeth of the fire are taken away by a *mantra*." Headaches are cured by massage, but it helps to spray the forehead with a mixture of crushed ginger and mashed bedbugs. For stomachache they drink the red infusion of *medaráh* bark from Java. A cough is relieved by drinking an infusion of *blimbing buluh* flowers mixed with parched, grated coconut, also sprayed externally on the throat. Head colds are cured by massage, but it is good for sneezing to smell a piece of *telor* bark three times. Such are the most common of domestic remedies, but for each illness there are seven medicines used consecutively when the preceding ones fail to give relief. The keystone of Balinese medicine is the principle of " hot " and " cold," irritating and refreshing, also applied to foods. Thus a heated or irritated condition is cured by a cooling medicine.

The Balinese are helpless in the case of infected wounds, but it is always a means of breaking the ice with a foreign neighbour to ask for medicine for an infected cut covered with a greenish mess and wrapped in a dirty rag. Rose treated many such cases soon after our arrival in Belaluan and eventually we had a great circle of faithful friends who brought presents of food to show their appreciation. On our return trip we found that the full responsibility for such cases had fallen on our American friends Jack and Katharane Mershon, former dancers, who had settled on the malarial Sanur coast, where they conducted an improvised but effective free clinic. They spent their spare money on medicines and took turns every day treating scores of people,

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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tion for a feast. In taking the position the Balinese, be he a man of eighty or a child of eight, lowers himself with the back held straight, at the same time pulling the loin-cloth with his two hands tight over the thighs, so that the folds will not hang and expose him indecently. Women are of course, equally modest, and the little girls learn this trick earlier than the boys, for they are generally given a strip of cloth to wrap around them at the age of four or five, whereas the boys run naked several years longer.

Women sit with their legs bent back from the knees, both legs to one side. They may not take the crosslegged position which is proper for the men. A high priest, who has a right to the place of honor, will on entering a European house choose not the most softly cushioned, but the highest chair, and he will cross his legs upon the seat of it. Certain ascetics of noble caste, who have bound themselves to strict rules of behavior, may not sit down to eat facing in any direction except North or East. In the palaces of the nobility men of humble rank may sit or squat, but they are not allowed to stand or walk while a prince is seated. When they have to move about, fulfilling orders, they advance in a half-crouching position. So strongly felt is the matter of relative height that a man may ask one's permission before venturing to climb up a coconut tree to bring one refreshment.

The Balinese prefer to eat alone, and it is forbidden to speak to anyone who is eating. To speak to him would anger the god that is in him.[7] In some villages there used to be a fine imposed on any man who entered another's house and disturbed him while he was eating. Of this fine part was paid directly to the affronted person, part to the community, in compensation for disturbing the peace. Within the household there is no sitting down to a family meal. Each member takes his leaf-plate of rice at his own pleasure, carrying it off into a corner, often turning his back on his friends and relatives.[8] It is only proper to take food in the right hand while eating, although of course both hands are used in the preparation of it. Along the roads, at the markets, and at all performances are little stalls where refreshments are sold. But I have known several Balinese who said it was improper to eat in the street, and that they were "too ashamed" to do it.

[7] Here again, indigestion as a disturbance of bodily well-being is to be feared and avoided.

[8] In my own house I often surprised a boy or girl crouching alone in a dark cupboard absorbing the allotted plateful of rice, while a merry group who were not at the moment eating sat chatting without.

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Malays AN5
Sumatra OD1

Bl [410 cont.]
564 title for Wesja is gusti, for the women gusti aju. The sovereigns,
643 however, are called hanak agung or anak agung = exalted, distinguished, or great person.

Bl [411] The caste of the Sudra is the one of the common
564 people. They are entirely subject to the higher castes, so much
198 so that the latter deal with their possessions as they please.
576 Moreover, there is a difference in language between the three higher castes and the Sudra. The former address the latter in the vulgar language (basa sogol, basa dĕgag, basa djaba), whereas the lowest caste speaks to the higher ones in the high language (basa bakti, basa puri), which the higher castes speak to one another.

Bl One can be reduced from a higher caste to a lower one
558 for wrongdoing. Also, after a war the vanquished are sometimes
681 dealt with in this way. Meanwhile, it seems that the caste dif-
727 ference here is gradually beginning to fade.
177

The tjĕndĕla = unfortunates, outcastes, form a separate
Bl
564 group which is made up of persons suffering from incurable
● 164 diseases, especially leprosy, and are banished from society, re-
558 gardless of the caste to which they belong. They drag out a miserable existence in some isolated place.

d. Sumatra

S
Ml Where royal rule exists on Sumatra, one finds a quite
643 marked division into two standings, the nobility and burgher
565 standing. We shall give a few examples, beginning with Palembang. Formerly Palembang formed a state of this name with a sultan at the head, which fell when the sultan was removed on August 9, 1825. The distinction that existed between the nobility and the common class at the time of the sultan's rule continued, however. To the former belonged first of all the
Ml descendants of the sultan, the prijaji, with the title of pangĕran,
S
[651 radèn, or other Javanese noble names, depending on their closer
642] or more distant relationship with the sovereign. The prijaji at

Mn [485 cont.]
Bt 164 Bl 164 the Minangkabau Malays in the Padang Highlands, and among the Batak. This affliction also occurs frequently among the Balinese, especially among the inhabitants of the interior. Men as well as women display frightfully large goiters. In some villages their number is so surprisingly large that they make up half of
A 164 the population. Finally, the common occurrence of goiter among the Papuans of the Arfak Mountains has been mentioned by Von Rosenberg.

RL 164 271 Various authors have tried to give an explanation for this phenomenon. Concerning the Redjang, Van Rees ascribes it to the drinking of impure water from the ditches that run along the rice fields, because those who live along the large rivers and drink pure river water exclusively remain freer of the ailment. Von Rosenberg gives a similar reason in explanation of this ailment
A 164 311 271 among the Papuans. The Arfak, who live high in the mountains in villages far from running water, collect in the early morning large bundles of a kind of moss [486] that thickly covers the trees and brush and has the property of absorbing a great deal of moisture from the atmosphere. This moss is then squeezed dry, and the water thus obtained is drunk. This impure water is supposedly the cause of goiter.

Bt 164 [485] The American explorer Bickmore gave a different explanation. Speaking of the Batak, he says that the goiters occurring so commonly among them are to be attributed to the exceedingly light use of salt, whereas Dr. Jacobs calls attention to the fact that among the mountain dwellers the number of sufferers of this discomfort is approximately proportional to the elevation at which they live. He ascribes the cause of this defect to the continuous climbing along the steep mountain paths, coupled with carrying heavy burdens on the head, which the Balinese in particular used to do. We cannot judge the value of this explanation, which is in large part based on anatomical-physiological investigations. Nevertheless, we want to supply a few facts that conflict with it. In the first place, Dr. Hagen says of the Batak